

PEACE NEWS

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The Peril of Trades Union Conservatism

IT was significant that immediately after the issue of the White Paper on the economic state of the nation, the building trades union put forward a demand for a substantial increase in wages, which was promptly rejected, on the ground that it offered no guarantee whatever of increased output. The timing of the wage-demand was pure coincidence: for it must have been in preparation

COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

long before. But the coincidence was symbolic of the confused and dangerous situation that now exists on the home front.

Economically, the situation, though bleak enough, is quite straightforward. Britain is not producing as much as she consumes, either in consumer-goods or capital-goods. The gap between production and consumption is being met by heavy drafts on the American and Canadian loans—much heavier drafts than were intended. So that the loans will be used up much more quickly than even the pessimist imagined eighteen months ago.

The main purpose for which the American loan was to be used was the capital re-equipment of this country. It is chiefly being spent on food. (Even so, we are warned that the now tiny fat ration will probably be reduced still further in 1947). In a word, the gap between production and consumption is being temporarily and rather desperately closed by a charitable gift, which we are using up with reckless speed. When it comes to an end, we shall come down to earth—with a most unpleasant thud.

Left hand's turn

ECONOMICS—in spite of their reputation—are simple; politics are not. Economics abstracts its problem from the human being: politics has to deal with the human being. At any rate the politics of the free society does; and outside the free society there is no politics. If Britain were Russia, a ukase would go down from above commanding greater output, transferring workers from the overmanned to the undermanned industries, reducing the rations of workers whose output was poor and increasing the rations of those whose output increased. But in Britain, even by those workers who regard Russia as the workers' paradise, if the Labour government were to take this particular leaf out of Stalin's book, it would be passionately resented, denounced as tyranny, and followed by an outbreak of very serious strikes.

What then is the Government to do? It will have to do something very different from what it is doing at present. With its right hand it issues a White Paper, saying "The situation of Britain is very serious," and giving a plain explanation why it is; with its left hand it capitulates to the unofficial strike of the transport workers, by appointing "an independent court of inquiry" into the men's claims which was obviously encouraged to find for

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

THE CHALLENGE OF CONSCRIPTION

THE Government has recently announced that conscription is to be continued indefinitely. Most people have accepted the news without any shock of surprise and without protest. They have failed to recognise the challenge which the decision brings to our common way of thinking.

Yet it is clear in fact that the situation with which we are presented is one of extraordinary irony. One result of the overwhelmingly victorious war conducted by the "peace-loving" nations is the establishment in this country in time of peace of a system of universal military training. We went to war to overcome aggression: having overcome it, we now decide that our young men shall be trained in the art of war.

What shall we say of the decision? If the State is justified in insisting that we shall be educated, is it not justified also in insisting that we shall be trained for war? Yet there is in fact an essential difference.

It is the aim of education to help us to develop our personality—our powers of mind and body—so that we may live the more effectively as human beings. In insisting that we shall be educated, the State is intervening on behalf of human growth and human freedom. It is treating us with respect and reverence, as personalities capable of growth, capable of freedom.

In imposing military training, it is treating us, not as free personalities, but as units in a mass-society whose actions are to be determined and controlled by its will. In the one case the State is acting as a servant of human welfare; in the other it is setting itself up as a master to whose dictates our lives are to be subject.

Personally, I can only approach this question of conscription from the Christian point of view.

In its view of life Christianity stands, above all, for two things: for the freedom and dignity of man, the sanctity of the individual person, and for love to all men as the fundamental law. It says to each of us, You are a son of God, born to realise your sonship. It says also, All men everywhere are sons of God equally with yourself; all are your neighbours and you must love them as yourself. In both respects Conscription is a challenge to Christian teaching.

It involves an essential disrespect for human personality. We see that particularly with the present scheme. Men are to be conscripted at the age of 18. Before their own personality is fully developed, before they have had a chance of playing an active

by
SIDNEY SPENCER

part in the life of the community and influencing its decisions in the matter of peace and war, they are to be taken from their homes and trained for war. They are to be treated as tools and instruments of the State, not as living souls made in the image of God.

Conscription is a challenge to Christianity because of the attitude which it seeks to inculcate. Military training is not merely a physical process. It is not simply a question of learning to march or to fly, of learning to handle a bayonet or a bomb. The physical process has an inner aspect.

If you learn to handle a bayonet or a bomb, you must be ready to use it when you are told. In other words, you must learn to look on your fellows, whenever the occasion demands, not as human beings akin to yourself,

Robbed of their beds

IN telling a Manchester audience of the "many terrible things" he had seen in Germany recently, Mr. Victor Gollancz added that he had "felt ashamed of being a British citizen" when he learned of "a distinguished German musician who had his only bed taken away from him."

People who were evicted to make room for the families of our Occupation Forces, he said, had to leave their furniture behind them. They may take their bedclothes, but not their beds.

"I do not believe," he commented, "that the people of this country would permit this to go on if they really knew the conditions."

not as neighbours whom you are to love, but in the same kind of way as the State looks on you—in a cold, impersonal fashion, as units in a mass-society.

You must be ready to forget their humanity, their personality, their inner unity with yourself, and to wipe them out in a mass.

I remember a discussion in which I was engaged after a meeting in the early days of the war. I had been

PRICE INCREASE

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trying to show that in modern conditions war meant mass-slaughter of the civilian population. Some one said to me afterwards that I was wrong: what bombing there was would, on our side, be carefully circumscribed. For himself, he added, if he were in the Air Force, and were ordered to drop bombs on the civil population, he would refuse; and others, he implied, would do the same. Well, we know what happened. As time went on, bombing became increasingly indiscriminate, until we had the final horror of Hiroshima.

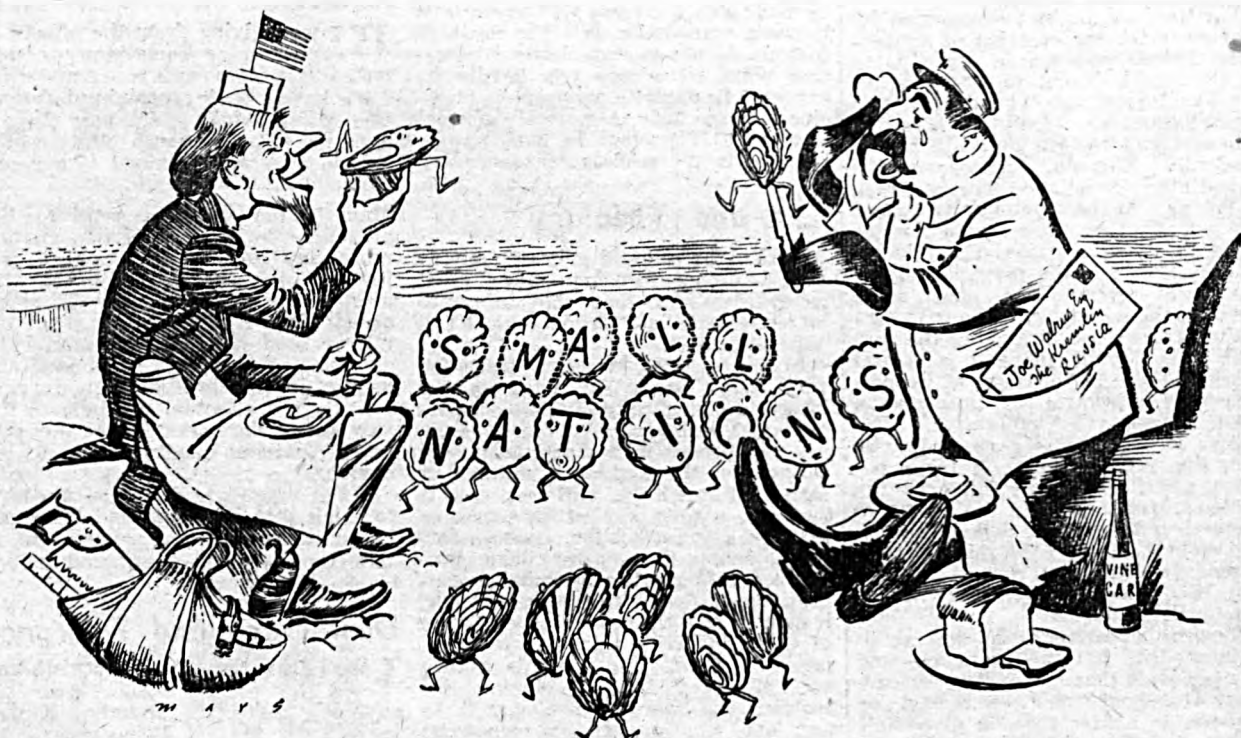
The worst feature of war, and the thing that throws it most completely into conflict with the Law of Christ, is not so much the hatred that it rouses (bad as that is), but rather the de-humanising influence which it exerts, the cold, inhuman way in which it leads us to regard our fellow-creatures. In "Faust" Goethe sums up in one passage the character of Mephistopheles, who is the personification of the principle of evil. Margaret says of him,

"... His presence chills my blood.
That he with naught on earth can sympathise is clear;
Upon his brow 'tis legibly revealed,
That to his heart no living soul is dear."

It is that lack of warmth and sympathy and the sense of common humanity, that cold detachment from the lives and sufferings of our fellows, which is the basis of the worst evils in human life. It is that which underlies the work of the secret police and the horrors of the Concentration Camp. And it is precisely this attitude which is the essential feature of military training and of war. It is impossible to reconcile the philosophy of Conscription and war with the Christian spirit and estimate of life.

If we have regard to the lessons of experience, there is one outstanding fact which confronts us. In the past 30 years we have fought two great wars in order to establish peace. The result is universal insecurity. As someone said the other day, "The more one fights, the more one has to fight." It is time we tried a new way and a new method. We have discovered the immense power of material energy which lies in the atom, and which remains as a constant threat to the security of our divided civilisation. It is time we learnt to release into the world the powers of the Spirit. It is there alone that we have the real alternative to war and Conscription—in the immeasurable power of the Divine Love which dwells within our hearts, and which is ever ready to flow out through us to bring healing and deliverance to mankind.

(Copies of the address given at Hope St. Church, Liverpool, on Dec. 8, 1946—of which this is an abridgment—can be obtained from the Rev. S. Spencer, 40 Sydenham Avenue, Liverpool 17, price 2d.)



I weep for you—the Walrus said
I deeply sympathise

With apologies to Lewis Carroll.

PEACE NEWS

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should be addressed to the Manager

ANTI-SEMITISM

THE most alarming testimony to the effectiveness of Irgun Zvai Leumi is the darkening cloud of anti-semitism in England. The Jews in this country, who react like mercury in a barometer to the least change in their social atmosphere, recorded this long ago. Recent cases of arson, and incitement to arson, in London synagogues have opened the blindest eyes. Since the immediate result of anti-semitism is to intensify the desire of many Jews to reach Palestine, a vicious circle is being set up which it will be hard indeed to break.

For Zionism—and an understanding of this would show the futility of basing British policy on pre-war recommendations—has changed much of its nature over the past decade. Hitler's attack on the Jews as a race has made them more than ever before a nation. Zionism is now the religion of Nationalism, in which orthodox and atheist unite. The Jews feel that they must stand or fall together—together not only in spirit but in place—otherwise they cannot defend themselves. That is why many who deplore the tactics of Irgun will not take action against it. It is, they feel, however misguided, fighting their battle. Assuredly it would be a Resistance movement at least as justifiable as those Britain did so much to encourage in Europe, were it not for one factor—the Arabs.

There, however, lies the snag. From the first, the Jews have tended to treat the Arabs as a "colonial people." They have pointed to the material benefits their imagination has conferred, or might confer, on the natives, as though that were a sufficient answer to every Arab objection: as though, in other words, the political and sentimental interest of the Arabs in their holy land were negligible. It is this that, by antagonising the whole Near East, has made the retention of British troops in Palestine practically the only alternative to civil war.

The problem of Palestine has no purely political solution. Partition, despite the geographical difficulties (where future settlement depends upon an integrated irrigation-system, and the cultures of centuries as well as nationalities are inextricably intertwined), is probably necessary: but by itself it will solve nothing. We cannot require the Arabs to accept either partition or unlimited immigration, without committing a sin carrying disastrous political consequences, unless we are prepared to do something similar ourselves.

Partition might be accompanied by provisions for the creation of autonomous Jewish colonies in other parts of the world, bound to Palestine as the Dominions are bound to their Mother-country. Only an offer of this sort can restore the influence of moderate Zionists, encourage the Palestinian Christians—mostly Greek Orthodox Arabs, potentially more sympathetic than their compatriots to "the mystical vocation of Israel"—to take a lead in the reconciliation of the two communities, and make possible the withdrawal of our troops.

But it is no use disguising the fact that this would demand a moral reorientation, on the part of peoples accepting a swarm of immigrants. That, however, is imperative. The longer British troops occupy Jerusalem, the more violent will Irgun become, and the stronger will grow the anti-semitism which the soldiers themselves, on their demobilisation, will help to foment in this country. Already, we are told (New Statesman, Jan. 18), some are talking of "cleaning up Brighton."

Meanwhile, let us do all we can to counter this hateful prejudice—one more witness that in war "we become what we behold." We recommend our readers, as a first step, to give their moral and financial support to the Council of Christians and Jews (headquarters: 21 Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1.).

THE idea which seems to have arisen in medical minds that it might be wrong to utilise any knowledge gained by the torture of human beings reveals an extraordinary inconsistency, and to my mind also some lack of commonsense.

To deal first with the latter point, we can hardly take a step in life without in some way utilising things originally obtained by immoral means. Our civilisation has been built up on fraud and force, and it is only in its later stages that these have been recognised as wrong. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the evil; all we can do is to insist upon a clean sheet for the future.

Knowledge gained cannot be hidden. Your contributor, John Hambling, recognises this when he writes that, having refused to take advantage of the "tainted material," in view of the rapidity with which medical discoveries are made (what, by the way, is "Military Medicine"), "we should not remain for long without the special benefits."

Which means that similar experiments will be performed upon animals until it is possible to extol the discoveries as the fruits of animal experimentation. That the discoveries had already been made would present no difficulty to the vivisector, whose work consists largely of repetition.

This brings me to the charge of inconsistency. Although it will be urged by interested parties that cruelty does not at the present day exist in animal laboratories, they will hard-

ly have the temerity to deny that it has existed in the past. This has been recognised by two Royal Commissions, callousness of Magendie being specially mentioned. Will those who believe that Magendie and his like have produced results beneficial to humanity be now prepared to discard those results on account of their "tainted source?"

It will be said that cruelty to human beings differs from cruelty to animals, but that is not so. The infliction of death is on a plane by itself, because there the question of the comparative value of lives is concerned. But pain and suffering are definite factors and have nothing to do with human prestige.

Admittedly, we owe more to those of our own species than to those lower in the scale. So does a man owe more to his own family than to his neighbour's. But if the infliction of pain and suffering be concerned, it is recognised by all that to inflict these upon a neighbour's child is as heinous an offence as to inflict them on one's own.

We cannot escape the fact that the history of vivisection is stained with awful cruelty, and if it be wrong to utilise discoveries made by means of cruelty to man, the same argument applies here. But is the argument necessary? I think not.

There are three classes of persons: (1) Those who agree that the right of the medical scientist to knowledge is "inalienable" irrespective of its source. Since they are exempt from the moral law it would, to quote John Hambling, "be nonsense to rely upon laws for the punishment of future experimenters." (2) Those who, like myself, having studied the facts and figures presented on both

sides, are confident that nothing has come, or can come, from the artificial conditions of a vivisector's laboratory which is of real and permanent value. These also feel such a moral repugnance to the means employed that they would refuse knowingly to benefit from the effects for that reason alone. (3) Those who believe in vivisection, but are ready to agree that it has had a very long run and could now well be dispensed with, and better methods, of which many like radiology are coming to the fore, could take its place. These will feel themselves quite free to utilise all past discoveries, but will show their sincere desire to put a stop to cruelty by a willingness to abandon it from henceforth.

Class 2 need not reproach Class 3. If I refuse to be injected with insulin I do not thereby lessen in any degree the dreadful sufferings of the canine victims of Banting and Best. Nor would the refusal to use Nazi discoveries bring back life to the Nazi victims.

Let us therefore be tolerant with believers in medical theories which we may have abandoned, and let us fix all our attention on the future. The only question that need be asked of anyone is—Are you willing to stop all cruel experiments, on any kind of subject, NOW?

If Classes 2 and 3 would combine to oppose Class 1 (a class which is obviously as dangerous to society as any atom bomb), and if their efforts brought about the prohibition of a practice which has led to the Nazi cruelties just as surely as war has culminated in the destruction of the Japanese cities, mankind would have taken a step forward in morals comparable with that which led to the abolition of slavery.

BEATRICE E. KIDD.

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More views on Dr. Hambling's article

JOHN HAMBLING'S article is timely, but somewhat confused. It is animal experimentation which led logically to the barbarities in the Nazi concentration camps. Cruel experiments are not the prerogative of Nazi doctors. Some of our own researchers, abetted by Christian bish-ops, have asked for condemned criminals to be handed over for research. Fortunately, public morality has not sunk so low as to permit this, but the desire of the few is always there, cloaked by fine phrases such as "alleviating the sufferings of humanity," the "war against cancer, tuberculosis," etc.

Medical research must not be left to people whose thirst for knowledge transcends every moral scruple and sense of decency. These vivisectors must be subject to the same moral restraints enjoined on the rest of the community.

The trouble has arisen largely through the coupling of science with medicine. Medicine is an art, not a science, and must remain so. Countless experiments on animals have demonstrated over and over again the futility of reasoning from animal to man; and the same will prove true between man and man. The constant factors do not operate beyond a certain point so science can hardly be expected to promote progress in medicine. Let us hear no more of "medical scientists." There are no such people, but there are sadists masquerading

as scientists who must be restrained. We would do well to remember that all knowledge is not useful, and there are some things we must not know if cruelty produces the knowledge.

In the discovery of insulin one would infer that only one dog was used. In point of fact, at least 92 dogs were cruelly experimented upon. How valuable insulin has proved to be is shown by the fact that the diabetes mortality rate has doubled in England since its discovery in 1922.

In other fields of life the exploitation of the weak by the strong is not looked on kindly by most people. Only in this matter of vivisection is a blind eye deliberately turned to the physiological laboratory in the selfish belief that good can come out of the evil which takes place there. The general public has been carefully anaesthetised by press and radio into acceptance of the dangerous doctrine that, in medical matters, the end justified the means. Such a pitiable state of affairs will continue only at our peril.

J. A. TURNBULL.

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R.I.P.?

IF I were dying from the effects of exposure, or something of that sort, and doctors came to me and said: "We have a book containing information which might quite possibly enable us to save you. But as the information was obtained as a result

of particularly brutal and revolting crimes (the perpetrators of which have long since been dealt with), we don't think we ought to look at it, and think it's best to leave you to die instead. O.K. by you?"—I should certainly answer that it was not O.K. by me; and, if they carried out their intention, should leave this world with a very definite sense of grievance.

MAX THOMAS.

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After Vivisection

MAY I be permitted just a few words in response to John Hambling's article of Jan. 10? I fail to see why anyone should express surprise at the actions of the Nazi scientists (?) in the concentration camps—horror and disgust, yes, but no surprise, since the crime of vivisectioning the sub-human animal, condoned in every so-called civilised country in the world, inevitably leads to an appetite for human vivisection if and when helpless victims become available as they unhappily did in the camps.

If we really believed that the doctrine "The end justifies the means" is wholly evil, vivisection would be one of the very first acts to be repudiated. And the health of mankind might from that time forward actually improve!

HILDA BLACKHALL.

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L.H. and Theology

MAY I be allowed a brief reply to Laurence Housman, although it is evident now that the difference between us is but terminological and not substantial.

In his article, however, Housman very much decried theology in the interests of a purely ethical code and humanist philosophy. Now in reply he has preached a fine theological sermon on the God and "Father of Man," although he will not call it theology, a term for which he seems to have a great dislike, because forsooth some theologians have proclaimed inhumane and demonic conceptions of God. Theology, however, is defined as "the science which treats of God and divine things in their relation to man," and there is a true as well as a false theology. To restrict the word "theologian" to any one who presents a monstrous view of God is surely a misnomer.

I hold that a mere ethical code, or purely humanist philosophy without reference to the God and Father of

Man is too short a rope to lift humanity out of the horrible pit and mify clay of militarism and to set its feet upon the rock of peace with a new song in the mouth. To show, as all the Apostles did, that the "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind" as revealed in Christ is humane and pacifist in His dealings with us, is, I believe, the effectual dynamic to lift men out of the barbarism of war into truly humane and Christian behaviour.

When terms are defined, I am glad to think that Housman and I are one in our theology as in our pacifism.

(Rev.) EDWIN FOLEY.

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Watford.

Democracy and Tolerance

I WRITE to support Wellock's letter on this crucial issue. Murry is obviously correct in reminding Kingsley Martin that if Democracy is to suppress its enemies it must suppress Communism as well as Fascism.

But may I question the Murry-Martin premise that 'Democracy

cannot tolerate the intolerant?' Tolerance for me, is the supreme virtue of democracy (I see no merit in majority rule for its own sake); if tolerance does not extend to the intolerant as well as to the tolerant, I cannot see that it is tolerant. The USSR is intolerant Democracy—that is why we do not accept it as Democratic in our sense of the word.

Democracies may perish because they are too tolerant, but I doubt if there is historical evidence of this. The familiar notion that the Weimar Republic's downfall was due to its 'excessive liberalism' is palpably untrue. Murry and Martin remind us that the 17th century English Commonwealth was 'intolerant of the intolerant.' Perhaps that is why it did not last.

I cannot believe Murry seriously wishes the British Government to be more intolerant than it is. But this is the suggestion his criticism of Martin entails.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

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Oxford.

Atomic Control and World Peace

IS IT "BARUCH OR NOTHING"?

The distinguished American Pacifist, A. J. MUSTE, gives us here the first of three articles intended as a contribution to the discussion of the greatest political problem facing mankind at the present time. The second and third instalments will appear in the two succeeding numbers of P.N.

IN the United States support for the Baruch plan is now about unanimous. This includes support for abolition of any veto on automatic "punishment and, if necessary, war" against any nation charged with violation of the International Atom Development Authority's orders. The Communists and known Communist and Soviet sympathisers constitute virtually the only exception. The newly-formed Americans for Democratic Action, led by the non-Communist New Dealers, makes support of the Baruch programme one of the foremost of its objectives.

The tendency for support in other countries to rally behind this programme, including Baruch's insistence on abrogation of the veto where atomic weapons are concerned, is also gaining ground. It seemed to me highly significant that an article by John Middleton Murry, under the caption: *The Only Defence Against the Bomb—Baruch Plan or Nothing*, should have appeared in a recent issue of Peace News.

At first glance there seems good reason for this near-unanimity and its emergence looks like a good omen for world-peace and progressive disarmament. An ADA which controls the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes all over the world; which will prevent manufacture and possession of atom bombs by any government or other body, with the possible exception of UN itself; which will be free to send inspectors everywhere and which will be able to summon the armed forces of peace-loving nations and of UN to punish promptly any nation which by violating its orders signifies an intention to prepare for war—surely this would represent a great step in the right direction. To raise questions and doubts about it seems to many to be quibbling or—even worse—sabotaging man's last, best hope for peace.

The result of all this is, of course, to put the Russian government "on the spot." When its representatives in the Security Council or other bodies keep up a running fire of objections

or sit in stony silence when the representatives of other nations are trying to work out the details of this sensible and well-nigh universally satisfying solution, and when they refuse to relinquish the veto when it comes to the punishment of a law-breaker, what can that spring from except a virulent nationalism. What can it mean except that the Soviet government intends war and not peace, unless it can get its own way? The United States, on the other hand,

appears in the role of the first nation in history which has an overwhelming preponderance in military equipment and which is ready to renounce any plan to use that advantage in order to impose its will on other nations. Instead, it is willing to give up altogether the frightful new weapon which God or "destiny" has placed in its hands and indeed to disarm altogether, provided only that other nations accept the system of "security."

I am not one of those who find hope for a solution of the impasse, by a belief that the Soviet representatives, in refusing to abrogate the veto and in repeatedly advancing alternative proposals, are, contrary to all appearances, angels and that their proposals ought to be uncritically adopted. On the other hand, it seems to me that people might well hesitate to accept the view that the Russians are either incredibly stupid and therefore unable to understand that Mr. Baruch is offering them—as well as the rest of the world—salvation at virtually no cost, or that they are friends bent on subjugating mankind even at the

risk of extermination for themselves and the rest of the human race.

I confess to being profoundly disturbed over the development of this stereotype of the good and the bad nation, God's hosts versus the Devil's. And I have a horrible fear that the men who are now proclaiming repeatedly that "the United States tried unilateral disarmament after World War I and what did it get us?" will presently be proclaiming: "We offered atomic disarmament to the Russians on a silver platter but they didn't have the sense and decency to accept it. They want war; very well, they can have it." Even if this time the premise—American goodwill and generosity—were true, which it certainly was not with respect to the alleged unilateral disarmament after World War I, the actual result would be an atomic armaments race and eventually war, "which surely wouldn't get us anywhere."

A power-struggle

It may be helpful to remind ourselves that the discussion of atomic control and of disarmament is not taking place in a vacuum or in heaven. It is taking place in the context of a terrific power-struggle between Russia and the United States in every quarter of the globe. Each nation is seeking with all its might to extend its influence and to secure its position as over against the other.

As Hanson W. Baldwin, the military expert of The New York Times, stated on January 2:

"There is not now—and never has been recently—any likelihood of a major war in the near future. But the greater willingness to compromise recently shown by Russia, and the limited settlements achieved by the great powers, have not altered the basic world situation . . . one iota. There are still two great and potentially hostile power systems in the world."

Furthermore, although military expenditure have necessarily been somewhat reduced from the wartime peak, they are in both Russia and the United States at an all-time high for "peace." The two powers, while talking about disarmament, are engaged in a feverish atomic and biological armaments race.

Clearly, this atmosphere is not propitious for genuine progress in disarmament or even serious reduction of armaments. If the two nations were truly interested in peace it would seem that this concern would express itself at other points than in the disarmament discussions, such as the framing of peace treaties.

But if the desire for peace and friendship is not manifested at these other points, the suspicion inevitably arises that talk about disarmament is a form of stalling and a cover for war preparations. This is precisely what Mr. Gromyko alleged in the Security Council.

(To be continued.)

"Give our democrats a chance!"

—FORMER REICHSTAG MEMBER'S APPEAL

Twelve former members of the Reichstag wrote this in the U.S. magazine Time.

EVEN a conquered nation has the undeniable right to be represented at the peace table. The opportunity should be given to the German people without delay to establish a central body which shall be entitled to negotiate in the name of the German people. This body should, also be entitled to negotiate with the governments of the neighbouring countries on all matters commonly concerning these nations . . .

The problems of Europe cannot be solved by shifting frontiers hither and thither as has been done for many centuries, always resulting in new wars. The tendency to create closed national states by wholesale expulsions of entire populations surrounded by insurmountable walls, will inevitably lead to general impoverishment and disturbances of national relations.

On the other hand, if the peace is to be a lasting one, frontiers must cease to be impediments to the free flow of men, merchandise, ideas and news.

In order to rebuild the destroyed areas and to restore European as well as world economy, the German

people must have the freedom to dispose of the treasures of their soil, and to manufacture goods for peaceful use to the full extent of their capabilities. . . . Dismantling of industries and disastrous export of vital raw materials should be stopped; the replacement of destroyed or confiscated machinery needed for peacetime production should be permitted.

In order to restore the rights of all men, all prisoners of war should be released immediately, and slave labour of any kind must be abolished.

No matter at what time the state of war will be formally ended, a real peace will not begin until the last soldier of every victorious nation has left the soil of his former enemy.

Irrespective of the question to what extent Germany has been responsible for the Nazi tyranny with its devastating consequences for mankind, the German people have been punished already to a degree unparalleled in modern history. Now the time has come to give the democratic force of the German people . . . a chance. The time has come to abandon vengeance and to turn to understanding and reconciliation, the only way to a durable peace.

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REBUILDING IN POLAND

The following report of their work was produced by American Friends engaged in relief work in Poland. Their main task was operating a seven-truck convoy used for hauling stone, lime and cement from railheads to building sites in destroyed villages in the Kozienice area south of Warsaw. There had been great destruction in this area, and relief feeding was in operation.

"WE had planned to haul two loads of lime per day per truck to Lucima for the building of ninety-four barns, but that is out of the question because of the roads, although the round trip is only thirty-five miles. The best we can achieve with each truck is three

loads every two days. Springs are breaking and punctures cause many delays.

"Since ours are the only motorized vehicles on the road to Lucima, we find we are also operating a bus service. The trucks often come in loaded with people, furniture, and baskets for the market.

"During our first three weeks we lived in the open. The stove pipe continually came down with the wind, until we tied a bucket of water to it. Even then it was difficult to get the stove hot if there was a wind. Rain often drenched us at meal times, and dogs stole our meat until we learned to hang it on a telephone pole.

"Lime-hauling will be stopped during the cold months, but cement and stone can still be delivered. We realise that people may still be living underground in the winter of 1947-8 if we use our trucks for other purposes, but it is a temptation to divert them. For example, each barn requires ten cubic metres of lumber, which must be hauled from a mill twelve miles distant. Unless we do it, each peasant would

have to send a wagon for it. Considering the fact that there are only seven horses at Lucima, it would take several months to transport enough lumber for the ninety-four barns.

"We see the size of the rebuilding job, the overworked horses and the obstacles to adequate transportation, and we wish we had brought fifty trucks and a road grader with us.

"We recently talked with several officials, from this district, who emphasised the need for building foremen. Villagers are handicapped because they do not know how to cut rock, mix cement, plan construction or follow diagrams.

"In this district alone, there are more than seven thousand acres of land unploughed, much of it still mined. Another need is for small portable saw mills with enough trucks to transport the logs and lumber to and from each mill, although bullets and shrapnel imbedded in the logs are continually ruining saw teeth. Many of the forests cannot be used yet because they are still mined."

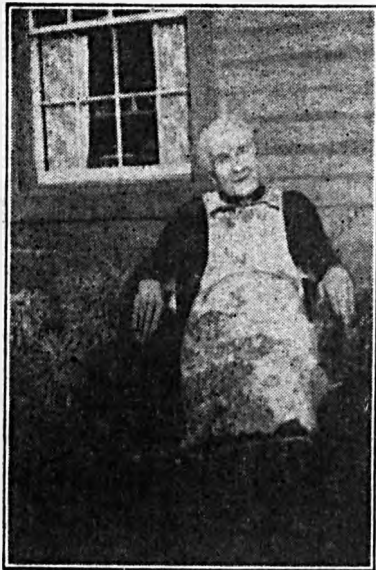


BOURNVILLE COCOA

—made by CADBURY—

HOMES FOR THE AGED

A Pacifist Answer



THE Nuffield Report on Old People brings to light the suffering and need of very many unwanted old people. Let us hope that a shocked public conscience will cause State action to remedy these grave injustices.

It is opportune, perhaps, to describe one of the many homes for old people started as a war time emergency scheme and still continuing.

Stone Bower Fellowship began nearly seven years ago and had a dual purpose—to provide a home for bombed-out old aged pensioners, and an opportunity of service for a few CO's. Since then it has had an average of sixteen aged people (both sexes) in residence. From the begin-

ning the home has been dependent upon a subsidy from subscriptions and donations of £300 per year and also the part-voluntary service of the staff (Staff members receive maintenance and 10s. per week pocket money). It has only been possible to continue running the scheme because of such a donation subsidy and "cheap labour."

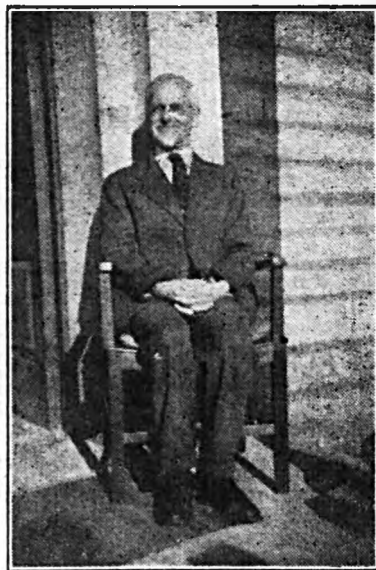
Seven years work has made us realise that the need of these old people is really as great now as during the war. It took a war situation to bring their desperate need to our notice. Their only alternative to this home is the Institution, the very place they dread, and do not want to enter.

The old people are free to follow their own little habitual ways as far as is possible, with a minimum of rules and regulations. Those who can, help in doing light jobs though most of them are too infirm to do much. The only organised "rules" are those routine weekly events for which the old people themselves are mainly responsible. Sunday Evening Fellowship Service, Tuesday Evening Poetry Reading, Friday Evening Discussion or Quiz. No rules are needed for meal times and most visitors say that our fare is far too liberal.

Yet a good home's essentials are good food, warmth and freedom to co-operate. Given security, friendliness and the opportunity to be able to feel that they are still "wanted" still responsible members of a little community, then most old people do respond in a very fine way. There is a genuine spirit of appreciative helpfulness in most old people. When you have seen the careworn and wan face of an aged person gradually change; when, after a few months of security and friendliness one sees a look of serenity and composure and sense a different spirit in an old person, then this is the true valuation of such work, whatever the authorities do or fail to do.

There is an old adage—"A nation may be judged by the way it treats its old people." In a professedly Christian country such as ours the treatment of the aged poor is an intolerable shame and injustice. In Blake's words we must imaginatively "feel another's woe." We must "feel" for these lonely aged, only so can we realise a little of what their need really is. They are not a vociferous body, a great many of them are timid and apathetic because of their sense of insecurity and unwantedness. They are of no economic use to the state but (and this we so often forget) they have given their

(The story of the Stone Bower Fellowship 1940-45, 9d., is obtainable from F. Hellowell, Stone Bower Fellowship, Burton-in-Lonsdale, via Carnpath, Lancs.)



working lives for and to the whole community.

Under the new National Insurance Act the old age pension is raised to 26s. This is a big step forward though we must not forget the cost of living today. Supplementary pensioners are in exactly the same position as before the new Act came into force. For example, if the supplementary pensioner received 10s. old age pension and 19s. 6d. supplementary pension before October last he now receives 26s. o.a.p. and 3s. 6d. supplementary pension. Supplementary pensions scale rates are still the same. These scale rates do need revising for we are convinced that only barely sufficient is paid in pensions to the neediest of old people.

Our own case illustrates the parsimonious attitude of the Authorities towards our old people. It costs us 36s. per aged person per week to provide this service. The Assistance Board allows each old person only sufficient to pay us 28s. per week (each old person has 5s. per week pocket money). Compared with Institution maintenance costs ours are considerably lower.

Does it not seem stupid that the Authorities will not grant sufficient to enable such schemes of service as Stone Bower Fellowship to be financially secure? Instead of this we have to spend much of our valued time in making charitable appeals for help. Our own present position is that to continue the work with salaried staff (and this is needed because voluntary help is not today forthcoming) we need a much larger subsidy of donations. It may well be that the scheme will have to close down because of this problem. For the immediate present we carry on in faith, believing that as we are endeavouring to meet the need of a few of these old people, our own need will also be met.

FRED HELLOWELL.

be levelled out financially to the minimum agricultural wage, plus allowances for wife and family.

We have a mixed farm of 300 acres, marketing eggs, milk, sugar beet, potatoes, wheat, market garden crops, etc. It is primarily a farm. That is worth emphasising. We have not formed a cultural assembly devoted to the drama of surrealism, throwing off a little land work as a gesture. Our fields are cultivated to produce and sell food. We rise early and withstand rigours because of a belief in agriculture.

A building team is part of the plan—are not food and shelter basic needs?—a hurdle and gate-making shop reaches out to a wide circle. Not that there is anything "close" about our activities. The choir sings here, there and everywhere; you can't stop them.

Farm affairs are discussed together at Farm Tea on a Thursday. When there are applications to consider, matters of policy, knotty problems to unravel or new ideas to propound, a general meeting is called. This is a somewhat deliberate affair (with refreshments), members making every effort to pool their sum of wisdom and come to agreement.

During the war our countryside was ornamented by numbers of C.O.s "directed" to apply their untutored skill to the land. Now that the compulsion is removed a tenacious minority has become merged. They belong. Some of them are here. The neon lights flash in vain, the bank manager beckons, the ledger remains shut—with a sack about their shoulders and a three-day beard, they trudge off to cut the icy cauliflowers. The country habit has them by the heart. Perhaps it is this rebuilding

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

Wilfred Wellock meets

POST-WAR AMERICA

OFTEN in recent years I have been asked how I thought my ideas would go in the United States. I invariably replied: "Badly, I'm afraid; but even the US will have to face the demands of man's nature in the end." Yet while it seemed impossible that a nation whose genius ran to bigness in most things might accept the day of small things, I was aware of the existence of several decentralist movements in the U.S.

I hadn't been in Roy McCorkel's Philadelphia office five minutes before he informed me with a curious twinkle in his eye, that "our Secretaries all over the country have been bombarded by Decentralists who want details of your meetings." For a moment I felt as if I had dropped into a hornet's nest. But no. This was just normality in the U.S. Here were the nuclei of meetings! And if pacifism led to decentralisation the sooner it was all made clear the better. Indeed I perceived that the breezy secretary of the Peace Committee was expecting that I should make a new approach to the problem of peace, and that he was ready to face the consequences of my doing so.

My plan was to state what I believe to be the supreme problem of Western, and now, alas, world civilisation, and then invite my audiences to help me to solve it. It succeeded beyond all my hopes. I had expected indifference, and possibly amused cynicism. Instead I met with a spirit of inquiry and a seriousness of purpose which pulled everything out of me to the last ounce. Something had happened to the American mind which reading had failed to convey to me.

The case I put was both unique and revolutionary. Years of quiet thinking had led me completely away from the power politics of our time and caused me to see that peace, whether within or between nations must be inherent in the life men live, in the relations they cultivate in their daily conduct, and especially in the activities by which they earn their bread.

My first job was to show that the major international events of the last 40 years hung together like the links of a chain; that their relationship was organic and not sporadic, each event following its predecessors with logical necessity, thus providing the classical example of economic determinism and rank materialism. Such was modern capitalism.

The fruitage of this policy to date were two world wars and a world rapidly moving into totalitarianism, while to-day, power was being concentrated in two Dinosaur States, whose fear of each other grew daily. All the major decisions of the United Nations were made by these two Powers: the rest, including Britain, were "also rans."

I then showed how the power politics of the Industrial Powers had pinned down the greater part of mankind to primary production, thereby forcing the whole world into an unnatural economy and a spiritually and physically impoverished existence, only to end in the Dinosaurs destroying and devouring one another.

The human effects were equally disastrous. An economic system which forced entire nations into modes of unnatural functioning, did not boggle at dehumanising man by transforming creative workers into robots and characterful persons into mass men. Thus a world economy which led to totalitarianism eventually produced the type of citizen that was necessary to run it.

American audiences were quick to see that the mass man, who by-passes culture and religion as irrelevances, will, in due course, under the stresses of economic breakdown, also by-pass democracy.

To this entire analysis my American audiences offered no opposition. They accepted, in so far as they were vocal, the view that peace depended upon the development of a new world economy, a new industrial system and a new kind of social unit. Thus while many hesitated to go all the way with me in the direction of small-scale industrialism, they nevertheless recognised the need for enormous adjustments in order to reap the real advantages of modern invention and yet conform with the fundamental needs of man's nature, such as creative labour, social responsibility and membership of an integrated community of a size that could be embraced by the mind and imagination of the average person. They also recognised that at root this was an issue of values, of spiritual versus money values, and thus that the economic revolution involved would have to commence outside politics.

The deep attention and concern of my audiences still astonishes and moves me.

Something had happened to the American mind. What was it? It was determined to find out.

Through Ticket

"This body, in which we journey across the isthmus between the two oceans, is not a private carriage, but an omnibus."

O. W. HOLMES.

AND, after all, who wants a private carriage when an omnibus is such a friendly, congenial vehicle?

The very fact of paying one's fare and getting a ticket, neatly clipped, to signify one's intention of travelling for a long or a short distance in the same direction as the other passengers, is a social and satisfying act.

The choice is made; we have thrown in our lot as far as Hornsey Rise with these fellow beings beneath whose blank exteriors beat hearts as warm as our own. If we suffer a traffic jam, it is sorrow shared; if the driver goes on strike, the blow will fall on us all.

It is not primarily of buses, however, that this pen would write, but of communities in another sense.

Community—Ha! There is a flavour to the word of monasticism, silent meals, aesthetic strivings, porings over tomes by candlelight, celibate joys.

But who are these who intrude into our picture? A cluster of gay men and women, some carrying their

children over farmyard puddles, others laden with dishes and meats, tea urns and fruit, all bound for a brightly-lit barn where a huge fire blazes out a welcome.

That must be Essex mud—the clinging sort. Yes, it is, Frating mud, and this is Frating community weaving it.

We may be celebrating the Harvest Home, producing a play or giving a party. There are many occasions through the year when the barn opens its arms to our festivity.

This is a farming community which has weathered the storms for nearly four years and is now beginning to feel firm on its feet, to see profits on the horizon, to realise, in a groping way, what it stands for in human terms.

About forty-five of us are involved, besides a host of golden daffodils—shareholders who, with a faith which gives impetus to our efforts, embed their gold in our fertile mud and await results.

Who are we all? Wonderfully ordinary people from a variety of backgrounds, rich, poor, urban, rustic, sophisticated, simple, some scholarly, some who read nothing but their Sunday paper, all now consenting to

CONSCRIPTION PROTEST MEETINGS

1. YARMOUTH

MORE than two hundred people were present at a meeting organised by the No Conscription Council at Yarmouth on Jan. 13th. With but one dissentient those present passed the following resolution: "That this meeting of Yarmouth citizens views with apprehension the intention of the Government to embark on a policy of peace time military conscription."

A speech made by Mr. Victor Yates, MP, was reported at some length in the local press. He emphasised that conscription was not a policy capable of defending the country and that it would be disastrous to our economy.

Mr. L. F. Bunnewell was in the chair, and the meeting was also addressed by Mr. Philip Millwood, a former editor of the Daily Herald.

Great Yarmouth has a very active group of the No Conscription Council in which are members of the local PPU and ILP, they are now hoping to make a personal canvass of a section of the town for signatures for the petition.

2. GREENWICH

WITH their local M.P. Mr. J. Reeves in the chair, Greenwich and Blackheath No Conscription Committee held a public meeting on Jan. 13th.

Stuart Morris, deputising for Dr. Belden, moved a resolution—carried by a large majority—calling on the Government to abandon its proposals for peace time conscription on the ground that it was "a denial of essential freedom" and could not serve the best interests of this country or the peace of the world. He pointed out the fact that a recent Gallup poll showed that less than half the people in the country were in favour of peace-time conscription and he wanted to ensure that the opposition was as vocal as possible in the time left.

Other speakers were Sybil Morrison and Lord Faringdon.

Through Ticket

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

of people that is our most profitable crop, C.O.s, ex-service people, families. The children go to the village school and progress without being progressive.

If there is one thing rigid in our policy it is this: anyone who has the courage to set up a family deserves a home to keep it in. Books could be written on the subject—suffice it to say, at Frating each family has its home. The unmarried people, with the elasticity of youth, keep company together in the hall. (They have a way of drifting off in pairs, though, and the building team has to work overtime again).

Well, this leaves out the statistics and just gives a glimpse of our little bus on its way. We have penny fares on board and twopenny fares—but some mean to go all the way. The destination in view of each is fashioned of his vision; we have not yet achieved a tangible collective purpose, but, at any rate, we are all in the bus, and it is moving...

LEILA WARD.

"Endsleigh Cards"

A new venture to assist the finances of Peace News in its publishing work for PPU is now taking shape....

ENCOURAGED by the yearly success of PPU Christmas Cards it is proposed to publish in addition a series of attractive "all purpose" Greeting Cards designed by artist members of our movement. They will be marketed commercially—as well as within PPU—as "Endsleigh Cards" and it is hoped to have them available within the next three months.

Endsleigh Cards will attract those who prefer a simple but well-designed card, of good quality, but reasonably priced, free from lush verse and trivial adornment, and suitable for keeping in quantities to meet any festive or memorable occasion.

We have already received four outstanding designs, two from a very well-known artist, and cordially invite all artist readers of Peace News to write for full details. Payment will be made for accepted designs. (See classified advertisements on page five).

Enquiries will be welcomed from sympathetic commercial travellers, booksellers, stationers, newsagents and any others who would be willing to help in selling the cards. Full trade terms or commission will be given to any friends in the trade and their co-operation warmly welcomed.

Profit will be devoted to stabilising the finances of Peace News, so making possible increased information and propaganda in the cause of peace.

Readers are invited to make this widely known—and all enquiries and offers of assistance should be addressed to Endsleigh Cards, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

QUIET CORNER

TO listen to Monteverdi's *Vespers of 1610* on Jan 17 at the Central Hall, Westminster (under the very shadow of the Houses of Parliament) was to renew acquaintance with that "quiet corner of the soul" which we should preserve inviolate amidst all the bustle and inanities of everyday life. The next of this series of concerts by the Morley College Concert Society is on March 7.

SUZANNE GIRARD

Suzanne Girard asks us to point out that the report of the WRI Council Meeting (PN Jan. 10) should not lead any one to infer that the Swiss Army would not fight if attacked. At the meeting she said that Switzerland would never attack any other country but that the Swiss, being born fighters, would resist tenaciously if attacked. This very fact made pacifist work difficult in Switzerland.

Advertising Advertisements

DID you notice the advertisement on page five of last week's Peace News? A pacifist announced that 45/- worth of adverts in these columns had brought him and his friends work to the value of £1,600. We are grateful for this quite unsolicited tribute. Not all insertions in PN yield so well, but the number of regular advertisers is some indication of the results to be expected.

Although Peace News goes up to 3d. next week our adverts rates will remain, for the present, unchanged: Displays 10/- for a single column inch: Classified 3d. a word. Advertisers will know how reasonable these rates are and we invite our readers to send us their small ads., personal and group announcements and business insertions.

Send a penny-stamped envelope for full details of rates and conditions—and help Peace News by helping yourself!

ABOUT OURSELVES

"I was interested in the letters headed 'Are we being ostriches?' and wonder how many readers of 'Housewife' know of the existence of the organisation, Peace Pledge Union, commonly known as PPU. Members pledge themselves to 'Renounce war and never support or sanction another.' They have regular meetings. We in Nelson meet weekly at 8 p.m. in Albert Street Co-op. Hall. Our official paper is Peace News, published weekly and well worth reading."

"By meeting other anti-war minded people regularly and holding debates, etc., we try to promote constructive work for peace, and are always glad to welcome new members."

Readers of *Housewife* see this timely reminder of the existence of the PPU and Peace News in a letter from Mrs. Marion Sharp of Nelson, Lancs, printed in the February issue.

Peace News has been restored to its place in the reading room of Pad-dington Library thanks to the efforts of a local reader.

The decision to ban Peace News from Hornsey public libraries was recalled by Mr. Colin MacPhee at a recent council meeting when the Libraries Committee reported that it had also decided not to allow copies of "The London Citizen" to be displayed. "The arguments on that occasion were very one-sided," he said, in an appeal for all views to be allowed representation in the reading rooms.

Towards the end of last year, Peace News was allowed back in Christchurch, New Zealand, Public Library—where it had been banned since the outbreak of war.

Ten Years Ago

Peace News, Jan. 30, 1937

The political crisis in Japan, arising from the conflict between the Army and the Cabinet, resulted in the resignation of the latter.

A Tokyo report on Jan. 24 states that the Army demands a "defence programme to establish an ever-advancing Japan."

The trial of former leaders of the Communist Party began on Jan. 23 in Moscow. The accused were charged with working, under instructions from Trotsky, on behalf of "some foreign states," to undermine the USSR's military strength.

Recent publications: *Why We Burnt The Bombing School*, by Saunders Lewis and Lewis Valentine. J. E. Jones, Caernarvon, 3d.

Through the Barriers

THE War Resisters' International is re-establishing its contact with its Japanese members. It is indebted to the American Section for their efforts in contacting our old friends in Japan, since the post is not yet open between the latter country and Great Britain.

The first letter to arrive is from a Japanese friend of many years—Dr. Taketomi H. Shibata, of Tokio, who writes:—

"Thank you very much for your kindness. I jumped with joy at the first news from my friends. I was sorry I could not write before, my address book was burnt with my home. I lost all my goods, but not my mental aspirations."

We are narrowly escaping hunger and exerting ourselves to the utmost to establish a democratic peace in Japan. I sincerely regret that we could not check the shameful aggressive war. The military policy in and before the war was very oppressive and cruel to pacifists. Now I believe it is good for the Japanese nation to ponder well on the past faults and take care not to repeat the dishonourable offence. We yet hope to contribute to the happiness of the human race. In this hope I send my regards to all American and English friends."

Dutch Hunger-striker in Civil care

Nol Kneulmans, the Dutch C.O. who was on hunger-strike (PN, Jan. 17), has been in a civilian Psychiatric Observation Clinic of Utrecht University since the middle of December. He has taken food since being transferred to civilian care. No decision has yet been reached concerning his position.

In Holland some 3,500 draftees are "underground," among them a number of C.O.s whose application has been refused. About a dozen C.O.s are under preliminary detention. No sentences have yet been pronounced.

The exemption of underground miners has led a number of pacifist boys to go to the mines. Meanwhile new drafts (1924 and later Class) are still being called up, though no more transports have left for Indonesia. At least 100,000 men are under arms, compared with 30,000 pre-war.

Albert Tomlinson

NEXT month Albert Tomlinson is to become Secretary of the CBCO. Graham Wiggs, the present Secretary, had hoped earlier to stay until the summer but the Board felt he would be unwise to turn down an offer he had received.

Albert Tomlinson, a former PPU Development Officer and Treasurer of the East Anglian Regional Board for C.O.s., has had extensive experience with IVSP both in this country and abroad. He served in Egypt and Italy.

At the Board meeting on Jan. 11, Graham Wiggs and Jack Carruthers were warmly thanked for their work.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Lunch-hour meeting, Wed., Feb. 12, 1.15. "Germany, Europe and the Peace." Sir Harold Butler. Admission free. Programme of series National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

LIVERPOOL, 3, Friends Institute, Wed., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. prompt. Future of Pacifist Service on Merseyside. All pacifists welcomed. General meeting. Liverpool and Dist. Pacifist Service Unit.

LONDON, W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Feb. 2: "The Revolutionary Ideas of the Marquis de Sade." S. Watson-Taylor. Feb. 9: "In-Ita—An Anarchist Viewpoint." David Pinto. London Anarchist Group.

ACCOMMODATION

VALLEY OF PRIMROSES. Book early springtime. Good food. Fires. Perry, Gara Mill, Slapton, Kingsbridge, South Devon.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate Tel.: Ambergate 44)

LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank," Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

DEVON & CORNWALL. Ideal for early holidays. Free 1947 illustrated brochure No. 10. Douglas Bishop, Fairfield Guest House, Dawlish. DELIGHTFULLY SITUATED. Sunny Surrey. Vegetarian Guest House, cradled amidst beautiful pine-woods, 24 acre grounds, brochure "Pinebrae," Lower Bourne, Farnham. Telephone Farnham 417

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, or visit) 6s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

DAMAGED OR dilapidated freehold property required in London or 30-40 miles. Box 631.

WAR RESISTERS International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London. BOOKS ON religion, psychology, philosophy, sociology, fiction, the arts, poetry, etc., 2jd. stamp for lists. Kingdom Books, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

PERSONAL

PACIFIST, 32, married, no children, seeks partnership in market gardening and nursery business; keen: war-time experience; would invest £500 in suitable project. Box 628.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial partnerships for all. Parties, stp. Sec. F.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdn., Eumney Cardiff.

ASTROLOGY.—A free Test Horoscope. Helpful advice and guidance. Send Birthdate, stamped-addressed envelope. The Psycho-Success Institute, (A.28), 64 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

ACTIVE PROPONENTS. Gerald Heard or Aldous Huxley basic theories 1935-1945, or Somerset Maugham's Razor Edge. Write Sec. Heard-Huxley Group, "Merville," Fulse Hill, S.W.2

EDUCATED MAN isolated near Exeter, wishes for local contacts Box 632.

SITUATIONS VACANT

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Letterpress Machine Minder for 3 and 4 colour work: Furnival 2-rev. machines. Must have real experience of colour work and letter-press printing. Details from CBCO, Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

YOUNG BACHELOR to join tw. others in book business. Also help house-work. Typist preferred. Part-time possible without capital to right man. Box 630.

GENERAL FARM worker to assist on dairy farm: C.O. staff. Good hand milker. Lodgings in village nr. farm. Hunt, Hackwood Farm, Etchingham, Sussex.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

DOMESTIC SITUATION wanted by widow (soon five years): free Easter. Box 629.

C.O., MARRIED, with life-long experience as baker, seeks manager-ship of business, preferably with option to purchase later. Wife with business experience willing to assist. Suggestions please to CBCO, Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

FIRST CLASS duplicating of all descriptions, typewriting, etc. Mabel Styles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. Tel. Canonbury 8862

MISCELLANEOUS

ALL CLASSES insurance transacted, life, fire, motor, etc. Enquiries welcomed. R.C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.

YOUR PRIVATE Secretary. Typing and duplicating of all descriptions. Work done quickly and accurately. 116 Burton Road, Withington, Manchester 20. Telephone DIDSBURY 2419.

ARTISTS INVITED to submit designs for Christmas and General Greetings Cards for new series to be published by Peace News. Designs used will be paid for. Write to "Endsleigh Cards" for details. 3, Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

LEIGHTON DINGLEY & CO. for good printing of every description. May we quote you? Send stamp for specimens of work. 70 Brackley Square, Woodford Green, Essex.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders' bks.; attends to all income tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

It's up to the workers now

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

the men, in spite of the fact that the claim had just been rejected by the Wages Board on which the independent members were decisive.

The primrose path

I AM not blaming the Labour Government for doing this: but the fact remains that this is taking the primrose path that leads to the bonfire. The truth is that the situation is economically very dangerous; but politically it is preposterous. By the political victory of the Labour Party, the party of the workers gained control of the British state. For the time being the workers' political representatives are governing Britain.

They know, only too well, the dangers into which Britain is running if wages are not stabilised and output is not increased. Yet they dare not give orders to their own supporters to this effect; and they know it would have precious little effect if they did. The Trade Union leaders, half-convinced by the Government's warning of the dangers, are still more deeply convinced that they dare not surrender their traditional methods of sectional bargaining and exploiting a shortage of labour to force up wages and keep down output. If they do surrender this traditional policy, they know that there will be unofficial strikes, and that their own position will become still weaker than it is now.

But the grave political difficulties do not alter the fact that the Trade Union leaders, in order not to be deserted by the workers themselves, are clinging to a policy which would inevitably lead, in a very short time, to economic disaster. They are digging the Labour government's grave.

A two-year revolution?

IT may be said: it is not the Union leaders who are doing this, but the workers themselves. And that is true enough. The real situation is that if the workers were to go on as they are going now they would quickly scupper their own government, the country and themselves.

The American and Canadian loans will last, at best, only two more years. Two years in which to carry through a mental revolution in the workers of this country. It is a tall order indeed. For this mental revolution consists in their abandoning the habits and practices which have been quite essential to Trade Unionism ever since it began—by adhering to which the Unions built up the resources which enabled them to finance the Labour Party. It is asking a hell of a lot.

If the condition of the country were not so desperate, one might wait, and trust with confidence in the slow but sure processes of the free society which do enable its members to learn from experience. The standard of living would go down with a bit of a bang at the end of the two years; the Labour government would be washed out by the wave of general disillusion, and spend its brief time in opposition in excogitating and preparing to enforce a new conception of social discipline when it returned to power.

No clear alternative

BUT I gravely doubt whether the condition of the world or this country in two years' time will be such as to permit the leisurely process of democratic self-education. The vortex that is being created in Germany, for instance, will suck down into itself much of the little that remains of the solid structure of Europe. A really tremendous effort at national re-inspiration is required.

For, in one sense, with the advent of the Labour Government, the free society in Britain has come to the end of its tether. If the Labour government falls down on the job of inspiring the workers with a new sense of social responsibility, there is nothing to which the country can obviously turn. The Conservatives simply have not begun to shape a policy that has any relevance at all to the new situation. While the Communists could only preach—*vide* France—precisely the policy of holding wages and increasing output which the workers will not, at present, have; and, if they ever take it, it will be from their own

Labour leaders and not from the Communists.

Our vital experiment

WHAT it comes to then is the necessity of a rebirth of faith in socialism and the free society that will enable the present government to do the job. There are several obvious measures that would lessen the immediate strain. First, armed forces of 1,510,000, with 470,000 men working to supply them are quite fantastic at a time of unprecedented labour shortage. A half-million men for the double purpose would be enough for a country in our position.

Second, as the Manchester Guardian has been hammering away, day by day, the British labour force should be increased by at least a quarter of a million displaced persons. There, we come up against the Trade Unions again. But even if both these things were done—and if they are done at all, it will certainly not be on the scale required—they would not, by themselves, get us out of the mess. What is required is that the existing labour force (which includes me and you, dear reader) should work a good deal harder—with devotion and faith. Just think what an effect it would have on French policy towards Germany if we could offer France a few million tons of coal: or how much timber a million tons of coal would bring us from Sweden.

But far more important than that is that our experiment in democratic socialism should succeed. That would give Europe something to believe in: and unless Europe has something to believe in it is going to collapse. But we shall not be able to give Europe something to believe in unless we believe in it ourselves. Unless we believe in our own experiment, it certainly will not succeed.

Return to service

THAT seems to me the crux. The Labour movement does not, at present believe in its own socialism. Socialism isn't nationalising this, that and the other. They may be necessary parts of the technique of socialism; but they have nothing whatever to do with its spirit. For what on earth is the point of nationalising any industry unless, when it is nationalised, men change their attitude towards their work in it? But unfortunately nationalisation has been presented to the workers in this country as a shortcut to the millennium, when hard work would be no more.

But nationalisation simply means that that particular industry now belongs to the common heritage: and the workers in it become trustees for the community. That side of socialism has slipped out of the picture: and because it has slipped out, socialism does not give men anything to believe in. A time-wasting job instead of a time-devouring one—no man can believe in that. He just goes to the dogs, in both senses.

In a free society the sense of service must come back to socialism, or the free society will be destroyed. I do not believe it will be destroyed. But the sooner its members face the facts—desperate from one aspect, full of hope from another—the sooner will new confidence be born.

The democratic movement

MR. WELLOCK and the editor demur to my view that the free society should not tolerate the intolerant: that one of its fundamental freedoms—the right to organise—should be withheld from political parties which propose to destroy those freedoms. It is not a matter of principle with me: except in the sense that I think it ought to be recognised as a principle that the free society has at all times the right to refuse to tolerate the intolerant. When it shall exercise this right is a matter of experience: perhaps never, if the principle were plainly and continually asserted. What I object to, and consider dangerous to the free society, is the tacit acceptance of the principle that the free society is bound to tolerate the intolerant—and that the freedom of the free society really consists in that.

Moreover, I think the need is urgent that the free society should become far more conscious than it is of its own principles, if it is to resist internal decay, and begin to regain its old moral ascendancy in Europe.

PPU - AGM: April 19-20

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING PRESENT

THE annual general meeting of the PPU will be held at the Friends House, Euston Road, on Saturday and Sunday, April 19-20. It will be our tenth annual gathering and may well prove to be one of the most critical in the life of the movement. Most important questions of policy will be considered and it is not too much to say that the future of the PPU depends on decisions which will be taken.

It is therefore particularly important that the AGM should be really representative of groups and individual members. Every group is asked to make a point of sending a representative, and it is also hoped that every individual member who can be present will feel an obligation to come. Admission is by ticket only, and each group representative will receive a ticket. Individuals wishing to attend should apply for a ticket to Headquarters by Feb. 18, enclosing 1s.

The voting for the chairman and other officers and for the elected members of National Council will take place in time for the announcement of the results at the AGM. Every member of the PPU is entitled to vote, and whether you can come to the AGM or not, it is hoped that you will show your interest in the work of the PPU by taking part in the election.

There will be a special issue of the

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THE EDITOR

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Nominations for officers and council must be received at Headquarters by Feb. 18, and the completed voting papers must be returned to Headquarters by April 2. We are counting on you to play your part.

Area Returning Officers

IRELAND: Tom Sullivan, 31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.
SCOTLAND: Allistair Steven, 33 Colington Road, Edinburgh.
LAKE: Frank Kerr, 7 Thorny Hills, Kendal, Westmorland.
NORTH EASTERN: John Morley, Rosalyn, Highfield, Westerhope, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
NORTH WESTERN: Bill Roberts, 7 Valescourt Road, Liverpool 12.
YORKSHIRE: James Le Noury, 4 The Grove, Poolsbrook, Chesterfield, Derbyshire.
WALES: Rev. D. R. Thomas, 21 West Grove, Merthyr Tydfil, Glam.
WEST MIDLAND: Connie Jones, 35 Hampton Road, Birmingham 6.
EAST MIDLAND: Leonard Bird, 413 Wellington Street, Grimsby, Lincs.
EAST ANGLIA: Frank Sayer, 11 Grosvenor Road, Norwich, Norfolk.
SOUTH MIDLAND: Arthur Bayntun, 9 Bedford Street, Woburn, Beds.
WESTERN: Ronald H. Plaister, 8a Wharncliffe Close, Wells Road, Bristol 4.
BUCKS, BERKS & OXON: Russell Everett, Corner Cottage, Jordans, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
LONDON: Gwyneth Anderson, 6 Endeleigh Street, W.C.1.
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